1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole Pukapukans

621, 423

[The communal ownership of and legal aspects of the reserve food lands have been classified in 621 and 423. For protection by village guards, see category 625. For cultivation and use of, see appropriate categories.]

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Records for 1933 and 1934 show a total of 41 births as compared with 22 deaths, which indicates that the population is increasing steadily. The vital records of Pukapuka are not complete. An analysis was made, however, of the offspring for 16 marriages, where reliable figures were available. These 16 marriages produced 77 children, a ratio of 4.8 children for each marriage. Of these children, 39 died before reaching the age of 20 years, a mortality rate of 50.6 percent. This seems to indicate a stationary population, but the fact that the population is increasing shows that the analysis is not typical of conditions today, even though it was perhaps true a number of years ago.

The population of each village of Pukapuka (as of June 16, 1935) is:

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		Island Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Adults	84	80	54	67	61	48	199	195
	164		121		109		394	
Children	101		64		73		238	
Totals	265		185		182		632	

These village figures, supplied by Geoffrey Henry, are based entirely on village lists made up for divisions of food and of copra money. They include all the people who affiliate (*tau*) with the named village, irrespective of village residence. The figures for adults include all those males and females who have attained sociological adulthood (*wakatoto* or *wakawawine*), that is, all persons above the age of about 16 years, who receive adult shares in village food divisions.

From our own census data it was possible to work out the approximate sex ratio for 348 people:

	Adults	Adolescents	Total Adults	Children	Total
Male	86	18	106	77	183
Female	98	8	104	61	165
					348

In this list, the term "adults" includes all persons married or past marrying age; "adolescents" includes all persons between 15 years and marrying age; "children" includes all below 15 years.

The number of children does not agree, of course, with those given by the resident agent, because the villages do not list their children in terms of sex, which is unimportant for food divisions. The village figures show a ratio of 97.9 females to every 100 males; the census figures, 98.1 females to every 100 males.

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ing watching a competition such as coconut husking, or sitting and talking, wrap their arms about each other and lean on each other's shoulders. Though any adult adopts this position, it is particularly striking to the observer when it occurs among men. When relaxing, women lean against other women. A woman frequently lies with her head on the lap of another woman. Less frequently, a young woman, watching a group sport, leans against an older man and wraps her arms over his shoulder. Occasionally the older man may rest his head in her lap. These attitudes, taken up in large or small gatherings, occasion no comment of any nature nor any embarrassment to the parties concerned.

ENVIRONMENT

Topography

The atoll of Pukapuka lies about 390 miles northeast of Samoa, 715 miles northwest of Rarotonga. Its nearest neighbor, Nassau, is about 42 miles southeast and was formerly occupied by a colony from Pukapuka.

Pukapuka consists of three islets with a land area of 1,250 acres, and a few sand banks grouped around a barrier reef (fig.1,*a*) that encloses a lagoon about 5 miles long and 2 to 3 miles wide. Pukapuka, the northern islet, is about 1 mile wide and has a greatest depth of about ½ mile. The entire population of the atoll lives on the lagoon shore of Pukapuka (fig.1,*b*). The word Pukapuka has no meaning but various etymologies. The old name for the atoll, Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Head-of-the-rock), refers to the legendary origin of the islands and is commonly used in old chants. The occupied part of this islet is generally called Wale (House). The two southern islets, Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, form reserve food lands (*motu*—translated throughout as reserve) and are visited occasionally for food and copra supplies. Each reserve has a small permanent settlement of houses occupied during these visits.

The landing passage (*au*) on the western side of Pukapuka (Wale) is used by canoes and flat-bottomed boats only. All supplies and passengers are transferred outside the reef to native canoes for transport across the reef to the landing beach. The western-most section of the islet is occupied by the people of Yato village. This village extends across the causeway which spans an arm of the lagoon and occupies further ground east as far as the present London Missionary Society church. Formerly this eastern site was the only site of Yato village. The building of the causeway about 60 years ago and an epidemic sickness suggested the transfer of part of the village to its present western site. The boundary of this village runs from the lagoon beach through the middle of the church and so to the outer beach. The section of land north of the village road embraces one reserve of Yato called Niua. The other reserve is Motu Kotawa.

The houses of Loto village are contiguous with those of the eastern section of Yato. They stretch along the lagoon and across the island to the outer beach, a location adopted after the tidal wave of 1904. North of the village road running through Loto stretches the only reserve of Loto, Utu, which extends to the outer beach. The third and eastern-

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361 most village, Ngake, formerly occupied Utupoa, the southeastern arm of Wale. After the
731 wave of 1914, houses were rebuilt on the lagoon frontage contiguous to the houses of Loto,
423 and other houses were built on a section of land extending from the lagoon to the outer
621 beach. This section of Ngake faces the outer beach extension of Loto. The two extensions occupy opposite sides of the village road. The reserve of Ngake is Motu Ko. Land at Utupoa is also used as a reserve, but sections here are owned by individual lineages and not by the village as a whole.

All three islets are intersected by paths and trails. The main road (*ngutuala*) of
191 Wale extends from the landing beach, through Yato, across the causeway, and through Loto. One branch makes a right-angled turn and passes to the outer beach, to the court-
787 house, residency, and the outer sections of Loto and Ngake. The other branch runs through the lagoon section of Ngake. Formerly it led to the Utupoa site of Ngake. This wide main road is well kept and bordered by coral stones. From it branch off trails and smaller paths leading to the outer beaches and the reserves. These paths, as well as the many paths on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa, are named after persons, either contemporaries or those now dead, who originally cut the clearings through the bush. Contemporaries cheerfully accept the responsibility of keeping their paths clear, and descendants of those after whom the paths are named accept the same responsibility.

Each village and reserve has a number of alternate names that are frequently referred to in chants and conversation:

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Village or Reserve	Old Names	Remarks
Ngake	Pana-ele	'Erect-penis'
	Te Yawea	—
	Te Langalkula	Refers to kilts (*titi*) of pandanus dyed red, worn by Ngake villagers at festivals.
	Kilimanu	'Bird Skin', name taken when birds were plentiful on Motu Ko.
Loto	Aveiua	Name of legendary land.
	Kotipoto	'Cutting of palo leaves'.
	Yaemata	—
Yato	Takamani	'Circle'?
	Ulukawa	'Penis-of-summit'?
Motu Kotawa	Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki	Sacred-isle-of-Mataliki[1]
Motu Ko	Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki	Long-isle-of-Mataliki[1]

The western half of the lagoon, including Motu Kotawa and the western half of Wale, is also called Te Lau-la-lalo no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Lower-part-of Head-of-the-rock). The eastern half, including Motu Ko and the eastern half of Wale, is called Te Lau-la-lunga no Te Ulu-o-te-watu (Upper-part-of Head-of-the-rock).

PLACE NAMES

A list of 140 representative place names, including all the names of paths and trails, talo gardens, land section, household lots and other division names collected in Pukapuka, is on file in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

[1] Mataliki (*mata aliki*, chiefly eyes) refers to the lineage god supervising these reserves and is not to be confused with Matariki (*mata riki*, tiny eyes), the name of the Pleiades.

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latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kalua, Mauvie, Makangai, Makangai tonga, Tonga, Mallunga, Kea, and Pua.
Loto: Waiuku.
Yato: Tukuku ki, Tukuku nuna, Waikatia, Pukapa, Yuka, Lakl.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Nuna and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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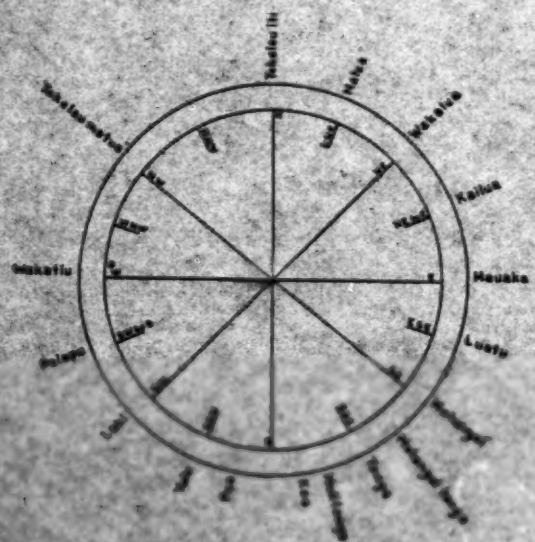

FIGURE 1—Pukapukan winds and directions named therefrom.

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The word for side or direction is *kaukau*. Hence a person says *kaukau tokelau* (northern direction), *kaukau tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga matangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *uno* is used. *E uno tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *uno* wind; thus a wind blowing

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The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Niua. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).[1]

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuliyanga and Alikalupe, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of ironwood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*ariki nuiti*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tuna and requested

1. [See p. 15, category IIb—analyst.]

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[626 776] her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tane's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 423 621 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *kaio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki laio te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamaava" (Thrust the *kaio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 423 776 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tane in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 423 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko.

[511] The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

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the two reserves on Wale, Nina belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pa i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pa i Matiala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pa i te tuhunga waa*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Nina ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri ulo ki tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua ki tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pale*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating taro beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Wakitau, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their cargoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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This was a return for courtesies rendered to Ngake men by the other villages, particularly deep-sea fishing privileges off the western reefs of Yato.

That the reserves are well guarded is evident from two incidents:

In walks over the island with Yato informants, amusement was always expressed in their faces when I casually proposed taking a short cut to our objective across the reserve of Loto. Even though I thought that my presence was sufficient evidence that my informants were not likely to steal nuts or taro from the reserve, informants never set foot on the reserve without finding the nearest guards and informing them that their visit to the reserve was in my company only, and not for illegal purposes.

On one occasion we were taken to Motu Ko in a Yato canoe. The Yato men took the opportunity to inspect the reserve thoroughly before going on to Motu Kotawa. This was the first time that some of them had set foot on Motu Ko. Ngake friends were continually urging us to pay a visit to Motu Kotawa that they might visit Yato's reserve as canoe crew. When we finally went to Motu Kotawa, Ngake men launched the largest canoe available, and there was keen competition for the privilege of being one of the crew. Even old men, almost incapacitated through age, made a point of being fractious crew members on this day, and during our few hours' visit on the islet, the Ngake men inspected every nook and cranny of the reserve, appraising the amount of nuts on the trees and the number of roosting birds with critical eyes. The results of the survey proved a topic of excited conversation for many days thereafter.

The villages have retained exclusive control over village reserve lands throughout Pukapukan history. At one period, however, in the reigns of the two chiefs after the seismic wave, the system of village control was temporarily in abeyance. In order to prevent widespread stealing, the law of *pule pae* was decreed whereby the guards had the power to kill by strangulation or drowning anyone caught stealing food from the reserves. Though centralized in one locality at this time, the villages still retained separate identities. Each village unit furnished a guard for the reserves. According to the severity or laxity by which these guard units enforced the law they were named: Te Pule-Wala-o-Yila-Wua (Pandanus-that-glitters-only), the guard of Ngake; Te Pule Tuli (the Tuli bird guard, or the guard that cheats), the guard of Loto; Te Pule-Wala-Mangeo (the Guard-of-bitter-pandanus), the guard of Yato.

The guard of Ngake was kind-hearted because the people of Ngake had opposed the passage of the law of *pule pae*; this guard allowed thieves to escape from the reserve, thus carrying the name of pandanus that glitters only but does not sting or catch people with the thorns of the leaves. The guard of Loto carried out the letter of the law, and allowed none to escape; they caught people as the *tuli* bird is caught in a trap. The guard of Yato was also strict, so they were named after pandanus that catches people with the thorns of the leaves. It is said that if the Ngake guard saw a man tarrying at the boundaries of the reserve, they told him to hurry inside, take what food he could, and hurry away while they turned their backs on the infraction of the law; that the Yato guard killed law breakers *en masse*, and that the Loto guard killed them on the next day.

Besides accounting for the law breakers, the guard collected nuts and fished for food to divide among all the people. This was done by the guards stationed on Wale, on Motu Ko, and on Main Kotawa. Other members went through the village each day to see that everyone was accounted for. Those missing had to prove that they were

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not illegally fishing and that they were not stealing from the reserves. Incidents of this period are told in the stories of Tuiva and Kupolu, and in the story of the *pule pua* (pp. 387, 395).

Numerous references in the stories and traditions of the island show that stealing from the reserves was an ever-present problem that challenged both supernatural and secular supervision of these reserved areas. The only major sin in Pukapukan society seems to have been stealing from the reserves; beside this, all other types of antisocial conduct become mere peccadillos. Where the law breaker meekly accepted punishment, secular or supernatural, all was well, but a thief surprised by a guard and resisting arrest either in shame or in desperation might be killed outright in the succeeding brawl. Several ancient graves on Motu Ko are still pointed out as the graves of thieves who were surprised on the reserve and killed.

TALO BEDS

The center of the reserve of Uta is a communal talo bed controlled by the village of Loto (pl. 1,*B*). This large area is subdivided into 11 smaller areas (*ai lulu*), named after nine land divisions in the reserve. There are four similar *ai lulu* in the reserve of Niua. The people of Ngake have more than 15 large talo cultivations on Motu Ko.

Tradition states that the main talo beds on Wale were formed originally by Tumulivaka, son of the god Matuliki. Tumulivaka became troubled in his heart at the number of gods who were taking up residence on Pukapuka. He wished to be separated from the gods, so he stood at Te Auma, the northern point of Wale, and stuck his foot in the sand. This made a big separation or channel in the land from Te Auma to the pond, Te Vaitanu, in Ngake village, and thence to the sea. As this follows the line of the present talo beds, it is common to refer to these beds as Te Akanga-vae (Striking-of-the-foot). Matuliki with his wife and the gods lived on the western side of the division, *te mali tuyuo*, so called because it faced the setting sun, while Tumulivaka and his sister, Te Matakiate, lived on the eastern side, *te mata turuae*. As the island became more populated, this natural excavation, widened and deepened in places, was used for talo beds.

It is probable that the first migrants to the atoll found natural hollows in the land, caused by wave action when the atoll was being built up above sea level, and used these hollows as the basis for the talo beds. Successive generations continued the work of excavation, no light task with coconut shells, coconut baskets, and digging sticks as the only implements. Subsurface water seeped in and rain water helped to rot the artificial fill of dried coconut midribs, *koteuu* ferns, and other plant material into a humus soil, which became in time excellent soil for talo cultivation. The results of the excavations are seen in the raised embankments (*tua mota* or *tua ai*) which follow the line of the talo beds and divide one bed from the next. That natural hollows were first used as beds is indicated by hillocks about 40 feet high running beside some beds. It is impossible to imagine that

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these hillocks were raised as the result of human excavation with such primitive implements.

Traditions state that the talo beds on Motu Ko were started by the migrants from the legendary land, Yayake, and were continued later by the Pukapukans after the people of Yayake were all killed. Both on Wale and on Motu Ko, excavations continue to this day. The beds that a man digs out are his own property during his life; on his death they are passed on down the paternal descent line. Picks and shovels borrowed from the resident agent help to render excavation today less laborious than it must have been in earlier times.

The village-controlled talo beds (*motu*) are separated into three divisions, one each for the men, women, and children of the village. Each year the number on the village rolls is altered through birth, death, the addition of those attaining sociological adulthood, and affiliation (*tau*) of new members; and a redivision is made of the beds of the members of each class on the village roll. The shares of dead adults are taken by new adults (*uakatanu* and *uakaueuine*), whose shares in turn are given to new-born children. This redivision (*kotikotinga*) is made by a village meeting at the talo beds. All attend, even children, as a matter of course. The argument, discussion, and division are carried out by the guard and elders of the village; sitting on a near-by hillock, the others watch and assist with free advice and witticisms.

The new boundaries are marked by stones and coconut midrib butts. These soon fall down, but not before the new divisions have been memorized. The actual size of the village allotments varies somewhat from year to year, but in general a piece of land about 3 yards square is the average size of the division for man, woman, or child. Twice a year all the village women gather leaves and plants to fertilize the beds. Each adult cultivates his and his children's land how and when he pleases. The guards inspect the reserve land beds each month and fine each cultivator who has allowed his land to get weedy. The appropriate fine of three pennies or six mature coconuts is kept by the guards for their trouble in levying and collecting it.

The system is flexible and seems to work well. Each household receives an amount of talo land commensurate with its size. The system insures that none shall starve while others hoard up lands they cannot cultivate. Supervision by the guards keeps the land in good condition. The talo beds that a household derives from these village lands are supplemented by lands owned through lineage descent.

Paternal Lineage Property

Lands within village boundaries not controlled by the village unit are controlled by the paternal and maternal descent groups. On Wale, each paternal lineage (*to*) controls a section of land (*kaasu*) of indeterminate

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476 226 Typical activities which involve complex combination of labor are bonito and flying-fish fishing, seine fishing, house building and thatching, canoe making, talo bed excavating, and today copra making. Bonito and flying fish may be fished by a small group of friends in one or two canoes, or else may involve village cooperation. Some men in each canoe are paddlers, others the netters or rod wielders. Women relatives provide the food for the crew. Seine fishing is carried out by groups of men, usually by a village group. When the net is used on the reef controlled by another village, however, men from this village also participate and share in the fish division. House building involves complex household or village cooperation, depending on the building constructed, whether for use as a private cook or sleep house or for a village meeting house or reserve land guard house (p. 76).

476 437 241 268 Canoe making is the work of an expert canoe builder and a number of assistants whom he directs. The group for whom the canoe is being built provides the food for the workers and makes the gifts that recompense the workers at the conclusion. Talo beds are excavated by men and women, the men doing the heavy digging, the women carrying away the sand and coral. Copra making is a village undertaking, involving both men and women. During the stay on the reserves, men and women collect and husk the nuts; older people and women split the nuts; men and women put them on the drying platforms; and children and old people later remove the copra from the shells. The men transport the copra to the villages and store it in village-constructed storage houses to await shipment.

476 421 625 Work is initiated by those who experience needs and require assistance to fulfill them. The needs may be biological, such as the need for food or shelter, or else social or ritual, as in the preparation for feasts, the building of village or religious houses, and village competitions. Village work is initiated by the informal village council, by inter-village discussions, or by household heads who anticipate the occurrence of large feasts. Specific works which involve the welfare of the village as a whole, such as copra making, the care of village talo beds, or preparations for village contests, are controlled by the guards (*pule*) acting as executive agents for the village. The work is so organized that all have specific tasks allotted to them. The guard sees that the work is carried out and is up to the required standard of efficiency. In work on the village copra storehouse for example, the guard arranges for some men to fish for the village workers and for the women to prepare talo to feed the workers; the older men so arrange the work that those best skilled for certain tasks are given the direction of these tasks and are adequately helped by less-skilled workers.

476 421 609 The native Pukapukan pattern functioned in typical fashion when the people made the collection of material culture objects presented to Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

476 621 609 A list of all the objects it was proposed to make was first prepared by a group of representatives from each village. This number was then equably divided among the three villages. Village meetings were next held, and the work for each village was allotted to individuals or groups of men working under a supervising expert. On the day appointed for the commencement of the work, young men were sent out fishing, and selected women prepared foods for the group. All the workers assembled, men and women in separate groups, and worked throughout the day. At dusk, a food division was made and arrangements discussed for the next day's work. Experts were recalled from guard duties in the reserves where younger men substituted until the special work was completed. Cooperative work continued until all the objects were completed. As in other group activities, there was little direction of the work beyond its formal initiation. Most techniques were well known, followed traditional rules, and were easily carried out. Where work involved more complicated or uncommon techniques, someone recognised as specially skilled assumed the duties of director. Uncommon techniques were sometimes submitted to a sort of informal commission of old men, who discussed the matter thoroughly among themselves and then issued directions for the work as it proceeded.

461 621 476 [378] Work of all kinds is not without its stimuli. Individual work has its own reward, and work that is specially commissioned by others, as in canoe building, is paid for in food and gifts. Cooperative work on a small scale is recompensed by a feast; on a larger scale it depends for its stimulus on a sense of the fact that village welfare reacts on the welfare of the individuals composing the village, and, also, on inter-village rivalry and the consequent outlet for aggressive feelings. All types of cooperation are marked by sociability, good-natured banter, gossip, and joking. Chanting or singing is rare. There is no use of drugs, other than tobacco, as work stimuli.

441 626 476 Laziness in communal work is rare, but where it occurs there are several ways of dealing with it. The person who does not join group work does not share in the subsequent food division. If a person is persistently lazy in village works, he is deprived of his adult's share and is given only a child's share of village food divisions. This is a matter for intense and long-continued ridicule by both children and adults and continues until the person mends his ways. Two songs ridiculing the lazy person were quoted to me with the remark that the guard sang them outside the lazy one's house at night, and that children chanted them whenever the person appeared in the open. Both make pointed reference to the laziness with an insinuation that this carries over into personal habits. The songs are:

539 626 461

Te pivaʻ ão, mako pipiko,
E kini ya wano ki tua
Pig squalling, mako sticking,
(He) has not gone to the back (bush to defecate)

Tuku ki ki te wahayaya
Koe mea kua e ao ki.
(He has) placed himself in nakedness
No thing (body) visible (through the fish).

:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Te malu, te malu, te malu	The weak (one, "softy"), the weak, the weak,
Te wewei, te wewei, te wewei,	The lazy man, the lazy, the lazy,
Tuku loa ki te vanunga	Given (out his name) in the report (of the guard)
Puke atu enuenu pe te poi[1]	Overtaken (by laziness) squeasy like pudding,
E loa yinga wua ia.	Flops down completely.

Fishing

General Features

Information on fish and Pukapukan fishing methods was obtained mainly from Veti and Eliu. It has been supplemented by general observation of some of the fishing techniques described. The material is not only interesting to the student of comparative Polynesian fishing methods, but it also gives an insight into the amount of control exercised by the Pukapukan fisherman over part of his environment. This control is much more complete than the following information suggests, because the actual amount of information collected represents a mere surface-scratching of the knowledge possessed by native fishermen. Two other limitations, imposed by lack of time and by comparative ignorance of the field worker in all that concerns fishing, conspired to prevent the collection of complete data on Pukapukan fishing. The classifications adopted in the following sections are those used by informants in presenting the material. Identifications of native fish names are given elsewhere (pp. 27-31).

The waters within and without the reef are used equally in fishing. The inner waters of the lagoon are combed over and over again each day by all the methods of lagoon fishing. Deep-sea fishing outside the reef is indulged in at least twice a week, depending on the amount of other work to do, the state of the sea, the winds and the weather, and the season of the year. Deep-sea fishing is relatively poor from November to March. In former days the amount of lagoon and outside reef fishing a man did depended also on the village to which he belonged. The division of reefs and lagoon among the three villages and the exclusive control exerted over these properties meant that the men of Ngake and Yato could fish more extensively than the men of Loto.

The habits and movements of all the fish were studied and correlated with the rising and setting of certain named stars (p. 350). All parts of the reef, inside and outside, as well as the lagoon deeps and shallows, are well known in terms of fish habits. Names for sections of the reef and for the parts of the ocean immediately outside the reef are given in figure 3.

[1] The closest are modern, hence the use of the Tahitian *puaa* for pig (first song) and *poi* for pudding (second song).

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

of the lagoon or on sandy bottoms close to the beach. The following fish are commonly speared: *pala*, *ali*, *patsiatele*, *alua* (a deep-water fish speared outside the lagoon), *tepuapua*, *taotaoona*; the eels; the trigger family, deep-sea members of which are sometimes found inside the lagoon; *wisiuiti*, *yoyala*, *palu uli*, *piopio*, *matasle*, *lali*, and *fapa*. The various rays are speared with a *tao*, to the base of which a sennit cord is tied so that the spear will not be lost.

3. Torch fishing. Torches (*lama*) are made late in the afternoon preceding the fishing. Two dry coconut midribs are used for the reef fishing torch (*lomalama ahea*), three midribs for the *walau* fishing torch (*lama walau*). To make the reef fishing torch the broad butt is cut from each midrib. The first midrib is laid on the ground, drill side (*tua*, back) down, the smooth side (*wailiuhewale*) facing upward. The second midrib is placed on top of the first, the drill side of the second leaf next to the smooth side of the first. Starting from the butt end, the worker gathers together with both hands the leaflets for a length of about 18 inches. Holding these with the left hand, he takes with the right hand two leaflets from the underneath leaf and twists these several times around the gathered leaflets of both leaves. Then he picks up with the left hand two leaflets from the top leaf and twists the first two leaflets three or four times around the second two leaflets and buries the twisted leaflets under the general gathering of leaflets. He gathers up all the leaflets for a second fastening about 18 inches from the first, and proceeds thus until he has made a compact bundle. When fired, the torch burns down to the fastening and then smoulders. The buried leaflets are then loosened by a shake or by a flick of the hand and flame up again. To dim a torch by lowering the head and thus make it flame again by raising the head is termed *wahapulapula*.

Of the two fishers, the assistant holds the torch and carries the spare ones so that the fisherman is free to catch the fish. The light of the torch shows the sleeping fish or attracts them to the surface, where they are speared or clubbed to death. The partners progress along the reef shelf, probing with the torch on the inside of the reef. The fish caught are strung together on a coconut fiber or placed in a basket. Fish caught by reef torch fishing are: *halema*, *it*, *tauava*, *uaoliki*, *wayi*, *kenae*, *uloulo*, *kotimu*, parrot fishes, and all the reef fish caught by reef groping.

Torching is also used in catching flying fish and *walau* (p. 58) and for canoe fishing outside the reef (*yi wahapulapula*). The canoe is either stationary or allowed to drift slowly down the reef. A torch is held by one member of the canoe crew to attract to the canoe such fish as night-feeding casgaroids, barracuda, dog fish, and tuna. The bait and hook used depend on the type of fish to be caught.

WEIRS AND SWEEPS

The walled stone fishweir (p. 159), used for catching reef fish in the shallow waters of the lagoon, is called *po watu ika* or *tauvenga*; the method of using it, *tali tauvenga*:

The weirs are placed in the reef shallows at places where the water at ebb tide is not more than 1 foot deep. The fish come inshore from the reef at high tide. At the ebbing of the tide, when they are carried out again, the exit of the weir is blocked with a scoop net (*tae yaeka*) or with a cone-shaped fishing basket (*ele wuli ae*) weighted down with a stone. The fisherman watches the course of the weir and has his net or basket ready when the fish enter. His partner beats the water behind the fish and drives them to the exit. The mouth of the basket is closed as soon as the fish enter and then the basket is raised from the water. The fish are lifted out, transferred to another fishing basket, and the basket reset for more fish.

Stone weirs are the property of the village on whose stretch of lagoon shallows they are built. All men of the owning village use the weirs freely at any time. Fish

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Three methods are employed to catch *kaveu*:

The first method is *tamalama kaveu*. A lighted torch is thrust into the crab hole. The torch smoulders and the smoke forces the crab from its second hole, when it is promptly caught. In the second method (*pukapuka kaveu*) a pointed stick is thrust into the ground or into holes to locate the crab. The hand is then put down into the hole to draw out the crab. The third method is *makapoo kaveu*. Coconut gratings are toasted over a fire until they become highly odorous and are then placed in the bush to attract the crabs. A few hours later a man visits the place and picks up the congregated crabs.

Crab hunting and killing is *tuuli tupua*. The crab is picked up by the shell and, with a quick twist, the head is bent back from the mandibles and broken off. It is prepared for eating by roasting.

Bird Catching

Of old, birds were caught principally for food, though the feathers were used secondarily as decorations for the hair and for the malo made of sennit. Today feathers are used as flies in fishing.

Birds are part of the reserve land foods and are tapu for most of the time. A decision to lift the tapu is announced to the people by the guards. The young men communally gather the birds which are divided among the people of the village. Small land birds are occasionally caught privately.

All birds are considered a great delicacy, but the young *lakia* bird is preferred. The owner of a new canoe might formerly obtain permission from the village to visit the reserves to procure quantities of *lakia* for the feast which marked the conclusion of the work on the canoe. The birds were shared among the people of the village and the canoe afterward referred to as *vaka kai lakia*.

Birds were never kept as pets or decoys. When caught as a fledgling, a bird was placed alive in a cone-shaped coconut-leaf basket (fig.16)[1] and transported back from the reserve therein. The basket with the bird was suspended from a tree near the cook house. The bird was fed with coconut flesh; a new basket was made when the bird grew bigger. When the bird matured, it was killed and eaten. Today a bird is occasionally kept in a small four-sided wooden box hung on a tree near the house. Its wings are broken to prevent escape. It is fed by the children and killed when mature. One man in Yato keeps two semi-wild *noa* birds tied by the leg to a log near his house. When they escaped one day and walked through the village, everyone ran before them with shouts of "Kai tangata!" (Man-eater). It was some time before the birds were recaptured and the village settled down again to normal routine.

1. Netting. The method of catching birds by use of the bird net (*tuuala*) is termed *makayi mauu* (to encircle the bird with a net). (For technical details of the construction of the net, see p. 209).

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

PAYMENTS

437 Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who
431 borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine
476 man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and
574 gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:
551
[322]

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilized, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakeyinu te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*wakamalinga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *wakeyinanga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*mollinga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uwo*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

[342] The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manus* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manus*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *puas* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *manus*, each woman five *manus*, each child one *manu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu imene*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

262 To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each
579 village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remem-
431 bered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 3
621 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,600
627 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the times was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1 A. [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *avo* fish from its fish pond, 300 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *inu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *inu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *inu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotonga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tapele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotonga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered monotonga feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 574 621 527 262 [621] [623] 431 574 527 262 613

en Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lauí*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*, as *lavaya haveu* (crebs), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

3. *Ngaluenga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakonalienga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngaluenga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *monotanga*.

5. *Kavekave*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Waele, taumoyanga, and *puahi*, food divisions for the birth of children; *malikinga*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *pepio wale* and *lulukanga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lautavo*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

Inua kai o te uaua is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

Laumatangi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo ulai* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingatinga* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of fresh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *pisaga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have initi-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

> Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takotako* nuts, *ipiipi* and *mukemuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Moona* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vena*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tukituki*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kui*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yausi*, sometimes given as *ausi*. Talo preparations are:

> 1. *Lupia*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *pusipusi* leaves (*nuunuu ki loto a te lau pusipusi*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, *a-b*). The food packet (*lupia*) is baked in the *umu* for 1 or 2 hours.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

OTHER PLANT FOODS

No origin myth is remembered for pandanus. Though it is not cultivated, pandanus grows abundantly. The keys (*penu*) may be eaten raw when ripe, with or without complement (*kinaki*). They may be sliced and baked (*wala tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. Grated raw and added to talo puddings (*olo wala* and *likoliko wala*) they give a sweet flavor. The juice of baked keys (*mahano*) is used in the same way. The fruit is enjoyed by adults and children and provides an important flavoring and sweetening agent in the native diet. Children crack open the keys and chew the inner kernel. The woman in the moon, Yina, is said to be seen kneeling before a stone cracking open pandanus keys.

The banana was among the items fished up by Maui. Of the several varieties of banana (*wuti*) growing on the island today, *wuti pukapuka* is said to be old and indigenous. The trunk of the tree is called *pu wuti*. *Lito* is a small banana leaf; *lauwuti*, a large leaf, used extensively in cooking as a food wrapper; *laumatu*, the old, dried, and withered leaf; *kau*, the leaf midrib; *kili*, the fruit peel; *kiko*, the flesh. Bananas are not abundant on the atoll and are not important in the daily diet. They grow in the talo beds and close to the houses. When available, they are much in favor as gifts. A household may get a small bunch of fruit from its trees once in five or six months. Bananas are ripened by hanging or by burying. A bunch (*ta*) of green fruit is cut and buried in a hole in the ground 2 feet deep and lined with coconut husks. The bananas are placed on a bed of husks and covered with coconut mats (*polapola*), then more husks, and finally with earth. After three nights the bananas are ripe and are eaten raw or cooked on hot stones. If a meal is made of bananas the correct complement is *ipiipi*.

Some sugar cane (*to*) is grown today on the talo bed embankments. It is owned by the villages and at infrequent intervals is divided among all village members. The cane is peeled with the teeth and chewed by children and adults with great delight. The cane is *pona*; the rings around the cane, *va*. The few papaya trees (*ninita*) and lime trees (*tipola*) are grown on Motu Kotawa and the fruits divided among all members of Yato village. One breadfruit tree on the atoll was planted by a man from Aitutaki. Its yield of fruit is negligible.

FLESH DIET

There were two staple flesh foods in former times, sea foods (fish, turtle, shellfish, crabs) and sea birds. (See pp. 27-31.)

No tapu against the eating of raw fish exists in Pukapuka, though visitors from Aitutaki have unsuccessfully tried to introduce the idea. Actually fish is not often eaten raw. A fishing crew occasionally eats some

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, 292 and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle 793 shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long 776 *uuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the 613 top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumanga*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitonganuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

301 Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn
304 round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

301 Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or
302 another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*taumata*), necklace (*yei*), or
832 waist decoration (*tili*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

292 For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports
621 contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for
293 decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder baldrics. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *nuku wala* (the white heart leaves of the pandanus), *lahau yili*, *tauuakomako*, or *pala puka*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*tili*) are worn over the customary basis garment.

292 The *tili nuku wala* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young
294 leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plait strip of prepared pandanus (*hiro*) is used as a basis girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Each Pukapukan individual belongs, by the accident of birth, to six formal social groupings: a tribe, a village, a household group, a bilateral kin group, a grouping of maternal lineages, and a grouping of paternal lineages.

The name for both the island and the tribal grouping of the people as a whole is Te Ulu-o-te-watu. Though there are definite names for village and lineage groups, there is no defining name that may be properly applied to or translated as "tribe". No Pukapukan word expresses the idea of a family; no word is applied to a biological grouping of father, mother, and children. *Wasae* refers to a man's or a woman's family of children excluding the spouse. A man refers to his wife and children as his *pure*, not including himself. A household group is referred to as a *yikuanga*, the precise meaning of which is a household lot or site; by extension, *yikuanga* is also applied to the establishment of one extended family, including land, houses, property, and persons thereof. When a person refers to a particular household group, he specifies: "na tangata o te *yikuanga* e nono i te *aguiwale* o Mea" (the people of the *yikuanga* residing in the private house of So-and-so). The word *aguiwale* refers to one of the several separate household units of the extended family group residing on the same *yikuanga*. Analysis of the composition of the household shows that a biological family does not reside in each *aguiwale*. The household acts as a unit in the production of food for domestic consumption but is always subsumed by a larger group when large scale economic functions have to be carried out. The bilateral kin group is called *katili*, *maekuga*, or *polipoli*. *Katili* is the word in common use, but the three words all refer to a person's paternal and paternal relatives.

To procure specific information on the various aspects of social organization a census was made of 54 sample households in Ngake and Yato villages. In Ngake I went from house to house interviewing the oldest member of each household. In Yato, where my knowledge of the household grouping was greater, I procured information without a house-to-house canvass. All disputed points as to lineage affiliation and the like were referred to a group of older men who acted as a board of judges.

VILLAGE MEMBERSHIP

Membership in a village (*kulu*) by birth, adoption, or formal affiliation gives the privilege of participating in village activities and food divisions. Every person belongs (*tau*) to one of the three villages and shares in the food divisions of that village. One asks, "Ko tau la Mea i wea?" (Where does So-and-so share in village food divisions?). The answer is "Ko tau i Mea" (He shares in or affiliates with Such-and-such a village). Because the men control village food divisions, each woman and child must affiliate through the agency of a man. Of a woman or child then, the further question is, "Ko ai ko taua?" (Who is it who sponsors her?). The mechanism of affiliation is as follows:

When a child is born, its parents and relatives decide where it is to affiliate. Generally this is in the village of its birth and residence and through the agency of its blood father. A child whose adoption is arranged for at birth belongs from infancy to

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[597] 851 621 602

the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuunga tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuunga tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 262

The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngake's supplies of crabs).

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In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuunga tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*uni tuunga tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

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The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 5, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuunga tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuunga tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

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The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *uelo* of the

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591 village to which he changes his affiliation, has equal rights with those whose membership is by birth or adoption.

621 On achieving sociological adulthood (*makatoa, makamatua*), a young man or woman may change (*uafe*) his village affiliation. Several boys have so changed village affiliation. A man might break away from his paternal group against its wishes and join another village. Divided loyalties might cause difficulties with his fellow-villagers and he would gain the reputation of being a trouble-maker or a lazy person. If he wished to rejoin the village of his birth, it would refuse to accept him or make unacceptable conditions of readmittance. The only course open to him would be to try to join the third village or to accept the conditions even if it meant the indignity of receiving a child's food share for one year.

884 No girl is known to have availed herself of her theoretical *uafe* privilege at the time of attaining adulthood. On marriage a woman automatically becomes a member of her husband's village to be sponsored by him, unless the couple take up matrilocal residence, in which exceptional case the husband becomes affiliated with his wife's village. No example of a husband and wife who affiliate in different villages is known.

[578] The village in which a child is to affiliate may be determined by the likelihood of later inheriting taio beds or other properties in that village from the relative who is to sponsor it. Similarly a person may change his affiliation to the village in which he has come into possession of taio beds, house site, or coconut trees.

Informants suggested that formerly a man who became a new member of a village was expected sooner or later to change his residence to that village in order to reduce to a minimum tale-bearing, transfer of village secrets, plans, and policies, and the conflict of loyalties inevitably provoked by changing village allegiance. As long as change of residence accompanied change of affiliation, there was no objection to frequent change of membership. Indeed, if the new member was a champion in any sport his joining was welcomed by a village, though formerly when membership of competition teams was based on lineage affiliation, the new member often had to cut across these kinship ties because of village localization of paternal descent groupings. Change of residence does not often accompany change of village membership today, though with adults, it would be welcome as evidence of complete identification with the village joined.

621 Today, as formerly, a man without a village affiliation is lost and outcast.
152 One who gains an unenviable reputation for antisocial conduct has to accept
626 humiliation in order to secure a status, however slight, in the island com-
558 munity. There are no records of men without village affiliation. Village membership is evidently a fundamental necessity of Pukapukan social life.

MATERNAL LINEAGES

613 The *aoa* is a maternal lineage which embraces several maternal sub-
616 lineages each of which is called a *feiuaga*. By lineage is meant a unilateral group of real blood kin. The *aoa* is not to be confused with the maternal side of the bilateral kinship group. Descent within the *aoa* is strictly maternal, whereas the maternal side of the bilateral kin grouping refers to
613 both maternal-maternal and maternal-paternal descent lines. *Wae* means
616 the life-generating female organs, and its extension to a definite maternal
124 social grouping is a recognition of the importance of maternal descent as a
773 cohesive principle which binds together the members of the group. Membership is by birth, with certain qualifications relating to adoption (p. 255).

The origin of the *aoa* was discussed with informants on several different

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613 771 Neither paternal lineage nor sub-lineage was exogamous or endogamous. Intra-marriage was governed by rules of consanguinity. No totem objects or prestige symbols were associated with any of the paternal lineages. Certain gods were associated with the paternal groups. (See p. 308.)

613 591 621 The amount of lineage localization in the two villages for which information is available is comparatively large, as is to be expected from the operation of the rule of patrilocal marital residence. Of 39 male heads of households in Ngake whose residence is patrilocal, 37 men or 95 percent are members of the two Ngake paternal lineages, Muliwutu and Matanga. In Yato, 27 out of 33, or 82 percent, are members of the three Yato paternal lineages, Yamanga, Yayi, and Yalongo.

613 731 173 There is no mythological account of the origin of the patrilineal lineages. Informants make the simple statement that after the seismic wave that devastated the island thirteen generations ago, only 15 men and their families were left of the original population. From these men the present population has descended. Seven of the men founded anew and named patrilineal lineages from which, by a process of fissure when numbers became great, other minor sub-lineages split off. Nothing is known of the lineages previous to the seismic wave, but informants presume that there were in existence similar named patrilineal lineages.

613 [523] 764 848 Various instances of irregular lineage membership came to my attention.

Children of a Pukapukan woman and a non-Pukapukan husband, white or native, go to the mother's cemetery for burial; the husband also acquires membership in his wife's paternal lineage.

One Pukapukan whose wife is deceased, has remained, together with his children, in residence in the household of his father-in-law. For reasons of sentiment, he has arranged with his father-in-law for himself and his children to be buried in his late wife's cemetery, the cemetery of his father-in-law.

[851] 613 577 764 177 The child (*tama to tahe*) of an unmarried mother is a member of its mother's paternal lineage, unless later adopted by the mother's husband when she marries. A child conceived out of wedlock, but born after its mother's marriage to a man not the physiological father of the child, is regarded as the child of his mother's husband and is a member of his paternal lineage; the husband becomes the sociological father of the child.

X is a *tama to tahe*, adopted into the paternal lineage of his maternal grandfather's father. His grandfather does not belong to that group, having been adopted into another. X's mother belongs to the lineage into which her father was adopted. Wishing for sentimental reasons that her son and offspring go to the same cemetery as her father, she is going to substitute for her son, and he herself buried in the lineage-cemetery into which he was adopted, so that he and his line may exchange groupings with her.

Only one instance is on record of sharing children between the lineages of the father and of the mother. The siblings—father, father's sister, father's brother—in household 45 of table 3, all belong to the paternal lineage of their mother. These siblings, now dead, all went to the father's paternal lineage. No adoption was involved in this division of the children among the two groups. It was specifically described as an idiosyncrasy on the part of both parents for which no motivations could be advanced today, as the arrangement was made about 55 years ago. It is possible that the division was influenced by southern Cook Islands practice.

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613 The part played by the paternal lineages in regulating marriage, descent, succession, and inheritance, and the relative importance of maternal and paternal lineages in social organization are discussed elsewhere.

Close bonds unite a man to his paternal lineage and to his burial ground. Additionally, he inherits land, coconut trees, and houses through his father, but beyond this, there is a real sentimental bond binding a man to his paternal grouping. It is always the paternal lineage and never the maternal lineage of a man that is mentioned at the beginning of each genealogy or story; informants somehow felt that by naming his paternal lineage, the hero of the story was placed and his status in the community accurately defined. The resident agent has had great difficulty in persuading the people that some cemeteries are too close to the villages to accord with ideals of modern public health. The conflict has become acute when the agent has insisted that the cemeteries be closed or the villages moved elsewhere. Either alternative has seemed impossible to the people of the lineage affected, and in one prohibited cemetery a burial was prevented only by placing the Union Jack across the already gaping grave and appealing to the loyalty of the people not to touch the sacred emblem of Pax Britannica.

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The paternal lineage does not seem to possess any formal structural organization. There is no council of the men of the group. Formerly each lineage had its constituted priests who worshiped the gods of the lineage in religious structures erected on lands of the group. Each lineage had a secular leader, with the rank, in a minor lineage, of sub-chief (*langatile*), in a major lineage, of high chief (*aliki*) or chief (*uwi aliki*). (See pp. 234-237.) Doubt exists in the minds of informants as to whether the word *langatile* is a Pukapukan word; some informants insist that it is not and that the correct designation for a minor chief was formerly *uwi aliki*, a collective word also applied, apparently, to an individual. Today *langatile* and the Rarotongan word *matoiapo* are used to designate the two groups of minor chiefs.

613 172

LINEAGE AND VILLAGE

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For feasts, sports, and games, the community divided itself into another unit based upon paternal lineage (*yolongo* unit), maternal lineage (*uwa* unit) or village membership (*matoyinga* unit, sometimes called *lulu kehai*), depending upon the specific activity. Membership in the *yolongo* unit is modified by the rule of patrilocal residence so that children adopted elsewhere and members of the lineage married into another village are excluded while persons residing with the patrilineal group through marriage or adoption are included.

616 Team membership for fishing and sporting contests was formerly always based on maternal lineage membership. One moiety contested against another moiety. At a later

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period, or subdivision was in terms of either mata or yalenge units. Village membership is the rule for most organizations today, so that Loto village connects with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (nofo) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and then helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and his antagonistic friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (malaoa), the food divisors asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (yalenge) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve landproduce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling members could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not so important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1931:297), speaking of Vaitupuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchange of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaitupu "was at a

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582 recorded in the census were between persons belonging to the same maternal
613 lineage. Inter-sub-lineage marriages show no special preference when the numerically larger size of some of the lineages is considered (table 9). The six irregular, incestuous intra-lineage marriages occur within the three largest sub-lineages, two each in *keinango* Yelu, Kava, and Kati.

621 From census figures based on village residence of mates prior to marriage, rather than on official village membership, it appears that there is a slight tendency toward intra- as against inter-village marriage, though it is not clear that there is any sociological factor influencing this tendency.

162 Of a total of 218 adults covered by the census, who are of marriageable
587 age, 30 are at present unmated. Of these unmarried adults, 10 are widows, 7 widowers, 3 divorcés, 4 divorcées, 4 very old spinsters, 2 bachelors well past the marrying age. The marital status of 147 people is given below:

	Once Married	Twice Married	Thrice Married	Total
Males	54	18	—	72
Females	53	21	1	75

Of 66 marriages functioning at present, 41 are between mates whose only marriage is the present one. Twenty-five marriages are between persons of whom one or both have been previously married. Types of marriages in this category and the number of each are:

Single man with widow, 5; single man with divorcée, 4; single woman with widower, 3; single woman with divorcé, 3; widower with widow, 5; widower with divorcée, 1; divorcé with widow, 2; divorcé with divorcée, 1; single man with widow-divorcée, 1. Of these 25 marriages, 16 are those in which a previously unmarried person mated with someone previously mated. It thus appears that a previous marriage terminated by divorce or death is no bar to remarriage with a previously unmated person.

Restrictions

582 Persons related by blood may not marry unless they are of the third gen-
588 eration removed from the common ancestor. Individuals in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance (*wale atua*) may not marry so long as the common ancestor is remembered. On the whole island five marriages between cousins-in-avoidance are known, a very small percentage of the total number of marriages. One of the six irregular intra-sub-lineage marriages is also a marriage between cousins-in-avoidance and thus represents double incest. The attitude of the community to these incestuous marriages is discussed elsewhere (p. 263).

595 There is no pattern of contemporary sororate. Occasionally a man lives
587 at one time with two women who are sisters. Such a man is referred to as *tangata kai wale* (house eater), a term of reproach and ridicule, applied also to one who commits incest. No rule governs successive sororate. The mar-

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to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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his body. They immediately disengage and walk back to their shelters. A man may stop the bout after only a few seconds' wrestling if he feels so inclined, simply by relaxing. This he does because he is out of breath or because he feels that his opponent is too strong for him. There is no desire to triumph over an opponent who is weakened by exhaustion or lack of strength. This would be considered no victory at all, for the opponent is simply not worthy of one's own superior strength or skill. Thus a draw results from a contest between two men so well matched that it is futile to struggle and exhaust themselves; or from a contest between a champion and a weakling, where neither considers it any disgrace to retire with fictitious equal honors when the odds are so heavily in favor of one. This concept of the drawn bout may also have been reenforced by the fact that many men wish to wrestle during the one day and it would be selfish to spend too much time over any one contest.

The men of each village are grouped into three classes of wrestlers (*kau tatu*, strong men): *mua tuka* (canoe bow), a team of younger men; *loto tuka* (canoe middle) a team of middle-aged men; and *muli tuka* (canoe stern), a team of old, experienced veterans. The *mua tuka* wrestle first during the day, then the *loto tuka*, and towards the end of the day, the *muli tuka*. In general, men from corresponding teams wrestle with each other, but in theory a man has a right to wrestle with whom he pleases; and should a young man be bold or disrespectful, an older man may wrestle with him and try to throw him in order to subdue his forwardness. Some contests are also provoked by a desire to pay off injuries due to previous ridicules, slanders, or alleged adulteries. To fell all opponents is *papaki*. For variety, an experienced champion may challenge two men to wrestle with him at one time. If he defeats these two, he goes on to wrestle with three men and more until he is finally thrown. This type of wrestling is *palaaga*.

The behavior of the spectators during the bouts is quiet and restrained. The people sit or lie about in the shelters but watch intently. They do not coach from the sidelines or interfere in any other way. As soon as a bout is won, however, the villagers are on their feet to commence the taunting chant (*tila*) before the champion is back in the shelter. Many chants are composed for the occasion, and old ones are practiced on the night previous to the contest. The words insult the other village and boast of the prowess of the home village (1). They are accompanied by dance movements of the arms, legs, buttocks, and abdomen in rhythm to the chanting and handclapping. The enthusiasm is the same whether the victory is gained by a recognized champion or by some obscure weakling over another weakling. The chant finished, the spectators quickly subside and await the next contest. Little notice is taken of a draw. The wrestlers sit to the side and quietly talk among themselves in the intervals between bouts. The children play up and down the wrestling field. Though driven away at regular intervals by a shower of pebbles, they are soon back again, running foot races and wrestling among themselves. Spectators often find these more diverting to watch than the adult contests.

Shoulder-pushing contests (*lukipoko*) were formerly in vogue but are not popular today. In an exhibition the young men had to be coached by the older people before they could proceed. *Lukipoko* contests between two or more young men in the god house after a seclusion period were called *tukupua* (p. 283). In the exhibition contest of shoulder pushing were three teams, each consisting of five men.

The teams line up in three files. Two teams, A and B, kneel on the ground with 3 yards between the two files, facing the third team, C, also in file, about 10 yards in front. All three teams perform the *lupe* ritual. Team C advances in zigzag fashion with short quick steps. As C gets close to A and B, it selects one team to engage. The two first men of A and C engage shoulders and push (*tutuki*) each other, C men push-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*waingonga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*waingonga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[621 533] Swimming races (*waingonga haukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*waikayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *waingonga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *talao*, and other reef fish; *waingonga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *waingonga hakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*lausi*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

[534]

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In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*taetae penu*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*yulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *avu* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka tabataka momao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yekeono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the talo dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

At the end of each day's fishing the canoes come ashore; the fish are taken to the village meeting place; the head, gills, and heart of each fish are preserved as a record, and the body of the fish given out to housewives to cook for the feast on the third day. The count for fish is as follows: albacore, bonito, *palo*, *komoi*, and *mango* fish count one each; one female turtle counts as one fish, but a female turtle with eggs counts as one fish plus one fish extra for each egg she carries. Hence a female turtle may count as high as 140 fish, and the village fortunate enough to make this catch is almost sure to win. A male turtle formerly counted as 50 fish, but owing to recent dispute this has been lowered to 10 fish.

The return of the canoes is accompanied by great animation. The villagers gather on the beach to watch the canoes land. It is dusk and coconut-leaf torches light up the scene. Children sport in the shallows and cry out excitedly whenever a canoe returns with a good haul. There are many disputes as to the total village count of fish and rumors of the fish counts from the other two villages. On the second day excitement quiets down only when a band of young men comes racing back from a visit to the other villages with definite news of scores. Formerly when the canoes were beached, it was permissible for the women to taunt and joke with the men in the fullest freedom, and under cover of the dark to pick out lovers and slip away with them to the bush. Single and married men participated in this freedom, and no after-complaint about an erring spouse received any attention. Old chants carry reference to these occasions of permissible freedom in sexual relations (1).

On the third day the people gather together for the food divisions. Fish from all three villages, together with a levy of 10 nuts for each adult and much prepared talo, are placed in a pile and divided among the lineage groups in each village. The winning village spends the day chanting songs of insulting and glorifying nature and doing appropriate dances. The chanters are dressed in leaf decorations according to village tradition.

Losing a fishing contest is due to breaking the tapus governing the pre-contest prohibition period, or to adultery on the part of the women left in the villages, or women's quarrels, gadding about, and laziness at mat making and domestic tasks while the men are not present. The women are supposed to be especially industrious while the men are fishing, and if a man comes home and learns from gossip that his wife has been idling about, he is justified in beating her for having thus provoked bad luck. In another exhibition fishing contest in which Yato men won, ill-behavior of Ngake women was given as the cause for Ngake's defeat. Loto was defeated for this reason too and also because of antisocial conduct on the part of some fishermen in the division of fish. Instead of taking all fish caught to the village meeting place to be divided, individual fishermen kept back fish for the sole use of their families. One man also removed a *kakai* head from the fish pile without waiting for the decision of the food dividers. It was suggested by informants in the other villages that this behavior was so disgraceful that it was doubtful whether Loto village could win a fishing contest for many years to come.

Mat-making Contests

In former times women held mat-making contests (*wainganga panga*). A day was fixed for the starting of the plaiting. The village that first finished the required number of mats was the winner of the contest. The number of mats was specified beforehand. They were of a standard size with decorative borders added if desired, though the contest was primarily one for speed. The winning village had the privilege of making a grand parade through the villages, showing off the mats (*liaki na panga*) and chanting as they did so.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the reef. The sea was covered with oil for many days and perfectly calm. The people could not understand this, so they dug up the ground and, by following the oil seepage, came to the grave of Kuialaloa, which they found still full of oil.

THE SEISMIC WAVE

Tradition states that directly preceding the seismic wave came a period of license in which the people of the island, led by the woman Wanguna, became blasphemous and gave themselves to sexual license in order that their tricks and their violation of tapus, as the legend somewhat quaintly puts it, would gain them fame in the future ("Wai ai latou tionga ma latou waka-matanga ke yi o latou longo ki tupua").

The people broke the tapus on the reserve lands, desecrated the sacred religious enclosures, and turned them to unsacred purposes (*lepu*). The institution of the copulation group (*ati* or *yau*) was developed to a high degree of organization and the people gave themselves over entirely to licentious living. Wanguna herself—ambitious, nymphomaniac, and a sorceress—is reported to have been a woman of gigantic proportions. A man who wished to have intercourse with her had to hollow out the ground that she might lie reasonably level with the ground. The men she craved accommodated her for a time, but soon became tired of her insatiable appetite. All left her but one man named Takalenga, but he too soon went, and when Wanguna saw that other women had lovers while she had none, her desire turned to anger against the people she had led astray. She prayed to the gods of her lineage, Te Atua Vaelua and Te Mangamanga, to punish the people, but the gods delayed their answer. Then one night, desecration reached a climax. The people came back from the reserves and in a wild spirit of recklessness they tore up the gravestones and leveled the stones of the religious structures. All the gods had to take notice of this new outrage and sent the wave to sweep away everything on the island—people, houses, and property. The people looked at the night: thunder was pounding, lightning was striking, the wind was blowing from all directions. Waters raged on the reefs, the sea was constantly rising, the tree tops were bending low. On the next day all the island was broken and everything destroyed. Wanguna and another woman named Tuki took refuge on hillocks in the talo beds of Uta, hillocks that are still called Te Motu-o-Wanguna and Te Motu-o-Tuki. These two women avoided being swept away, and when the anger of the waves was finished, the sea gentle and the reefs low, of the original population only these two women and fifteen men with remnants of their families survived. The names of some of these men are remembered: Te Moana, his son Te Ingoa, Te Longoke, Malowou, Te Woalu-unga-mamao, Matakoa, and Ulo, all of the Muliwutu lineage; Te Kula of Matanga lineage; four men of the Loto lineages of Tua and Yangafipule; and three men of the three Yato lineages. From this little group of people the island was gradually repopulated.

PERIOD AFTER THE WAVE

Rehabilitation

Nothing is known about the time of Te Kula, ninth chief, though it was presumably one of great hardship for the survivors of the wave. The time of Maina, tenth chief, is reckoned to have been a peaceful one (*e vaia wahamoemoe*). Both he and his executive officer (*wola*), a man named Te Kale, were concerned to husband food supplies and population so that one would not outstrip the other. The population was still small. Maina decreed

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that all the old villages should be temporarily deserted and that all the people should come to live together for a time in the one village of Loto. Maina decreed also that no man should take the life of another, whatever the provocation; that none should live apart from the rest of the people lest he seek to plot against the others and try by stealth to acquire more food than the rest. By concentrating the people in one village until the population greatly increased, Maina thought all schemes of revolt or killing would be easily detected. For a time Kieilu, a great-grandson of Maina and a man of great strength, served as Maina's executive agent and saw that his orders were all obeyed.

Maina foresaw the time when the people would want to go back to their own village sites again, and he thought it best that boundaries should be fixed against this time rather than be left to possible brawling and inter-village fighting with the victory going to the best fighters and not necessarily according to the needs of the population. Hence the stick wrestling contests (*tutukianga*) that fixed village boundaries as well as ownership of the reserves were held at this time (p. 33). But as long as the people were grouped in the one village, they pooled their food resources.

The village reserves were for the time controlled by the supreme chief of the island. Maina decreed that there should be rotation of use between the reserve talo beds and privately-owned (lineage) talo beds. This rotation was ensured by placing a prohibition (*lani*) of the chief upon the beds not in use. He had the people dig new talo pits and plant many nuts. Maina also put special controls on fishing, closing some parts of the reef and sea, leaving other parts open.

The Law of Pule Pae

Tuliayanga, who succeeded his father Maina, carried on the plan of having the people live in one village and use all the reserves as a common food supply. It is evident that the population was increasing more rapidly than the available food and that much stealing was going on, because Tuliayanga had built round the reserve of Uta a high stone wall with but two gates, and stationed a strong guard to control the reserve which he made tapu (*wakaya*). As this did not stop the stealing by the strong which consequently penalized the weak, Tuliayanga called a meeting of the men of the island to discuss whether people caught stealing should be put to death. This meeting to consider the law of *pule pae* (the guard kills) was heated, and because no clear decision could be reached, the matter was submitted to the executive officer, Te Tau, to make a final decision for all the people. Te Tau was in favor of *pule pae*, which became the law of the land.

Three days afterwards the two daughters of Te Tau visited the reserve by stealth and were caught by the Loto guard. The guard detained the girls and sent word to Te

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Tau, asking him what was his favor. Te Tau was thunderstruck (*to te pulo*) when he heard the news. He replied that nothing was to be done and the girls freed from custody. Two sons of the chief, however, had previously strayed to the reserve and been killed by the guard. Tuliayanga heard that Te Tau had saved his two daughters after his own two sons had been killed. He rushed to the house of Te Tau and said, "You killed my two boys, now you wish to save your two girls", implying only too plainly that Te Tau, who was instrumental in passing the law, had no right to defy it. Tuliayanga turned to the guard and called out, "Yelu!" (Comb!), meaning that the hair of the girls was to be combed forward so as to expose their necks. This done, the strangling cord was passed over their necks and the girls were strangled to death before their father. Their bodies were buried in the cemetery, not thrown into the sea as were the bodies of other thieves.

Two men, Tuiva and Kupolu, were successful in defying the blockades of the guard:

Tuiva, a warrior, strong and unafraid, was married to a daughter or granddaughter of Tuliayanga. He would go to the reserve at night, climb a tree, and get nuts. When the guard heard the noise and came to investigate, Tuiva threw down immature nuts so that they landed some distance away from the tree. The guard's attention would be diverted by this noise and, while they were combing the ground, Tuiva came down from his tree and escaped from the reserve. This ruse succeeded several times. Though no one actually saw him in the reserve, the guard decided that only one man was strong and daring enough to go to the reserve so openly, and this was Tuiva.

On a later occasion, when Tuiva was in the reserve, the guard refused to budge from the tree where Tuiva was hiding, even though they heard noises elsewhere. Each guard was armed with a stick. Tuiva resorted to another ruse: he pulled off two coconut midribs and carried them halfway down the trunk of the tree, where he hurled them to the ground with such force that the guard thought it was a body that had fallen. The guard rushed to the midribs and hurled their sticks at it. By the time they discovered that Tuiva was not buried under the leaves, he had again escaped. He was recognized, however, and the guard hurried after him. Tuiva reached home and told his wife about the mishap, saying he would sell his life dearly if the guard tried to arrest him.

The guard went to Tuliayanga and reported that his son-in-law had been stealing. Tuliayanga's daughter also appeared to plead for the life of her husband, saying she would substitute for him if the guard decided to strangle him. Tuliayanga was touched by the appeal of his favorite daughter and was also somewhat afraid of the powers and strength of Tuiva, knowing that if the guard went to get him, much blood would be shed on the island. Tuliayanga therefore ordered the guard to allow Tuiva to go free.

At about the same time another daring warrior, Kupolu, would go to the reserve and walk out before the eyes of the guard carrying bunches of nuts in his arms. If any of the guard tried to intercept him, Kupolu put down his nuts and openly engaged the guard in a struggle, almost always succeeding in throwing many of them into the talo swamps before the others scattered. This he did so often that the people said, "Why kill the weak people for trying to get food when the strong warriors like Tuiva and Kupolu can get food from the reserves and none can stop them?" This seemed reasonable to so many people, Tuliayanga included, that the chief abrogated the law of *pule pae*.

Civil War

Though the law of *pule pae* was abrogated, the reserves were still common property and the people were living in Loto. Some were of the opinion that it was time to go back to the old three villages with village control of the reserves. To decide this question, Tuliayanga called a meeting of

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the sub-chiefs and men of the island at the place Matano in old Yato village. From the accounts it seems that many were in favor of no change, and the matter might have been so decided but for the action of a group of Ngake men, strongly opposed to continuing the emergency system. What happened at the meeting is vividly told in the following translation of an account recorded by Talainga.

The Fight in Waletoa

There was a meeting of the chief and the big influential men, and all the men of this island, all together. This was their discussion: they were going to continue the island as one, make it into one village. In the time of Tuliayanga this discussion was held.

The men all went to talk in Matano. They agreed to the talk. There were eight men of Ngake who did not want to go to the meeting: there were two chiefs, Wekao of Matanga and Tawaia of Muliwutu, and in addition Titoko, Yeutaka, Aveave, Kaveu, Takatakai, Taonge. They did not agree that the island should be made into one. They wanted to live in the villages in which we now live.

The men waited for that group to come. The hanging of the net of Te Laupapa at the shore of Waletoa was finished by the many men. It was a net to make peaceful the spirits of men, so that ideas in disagreement with the decision would not arise. All the men waited for the group of eight who were missing to come. The men spoke of the reason that group did not come. The many men watched from Matano. There was something becoming visible on Waletoa. The many men said that there indeed they were leaping to the shore of Waletoa. The group of eight looked, the net of Te Laupapa, the god of Muliwutu, was stretched there. Titoko, a Muliwutu man, ran forth. He tore the net. The men at Matano saw the peace net of Te Laupapa" torn by the group.

One group of men said, "Don't do anything, leave it like that, so that the angers may only rage, lest people go over to their side." They looked at an old man who was coming down from Waula, going to the meeting. Moene was the name of the man; he was a chief of Matanga. When he looked at Waletoa, at the net of Te Laupapa torn by the group of eight, Moene became angry and insulted the group. This was his insult: "Having eaten menstrual pads, they spoil the island; they have torn the peace net of Te Laupapa." Moving over to the side, he picked up a sinker stone, threw it at the group.

When the many men gathered at Matano saw, one group of men objected: "Wai! who is the bold fellow? That is the god-piercer, the trouble-maker." They saw Titoko who was jumping over. Titoko hit him in the back of the head. Moene fell down. He died.

When the men saw that Moene had fallen down, they rushed off with the calling of the mouths, "The trouble-maker." The stone (island) was definitely boiling with civil war.

The many men fetched weapons, ran back. The group of eight were feinting on the meeting place of Waletoa. They threw at each other with the weapons. Indeed the many men were quite distracted. Of the eight, no man of theirs was to die. Frightened was one group of the many men, out of breath another. Another group climbed on top of the houses to hide. As to the eight, none of their men had to fear. They had all been

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"The "net" of Te Laupapa was no real net but consisted of a length of sennit from which hung strips of *wolo* bark. Whenever a meeting of people from the whole island was held, or when a meeting of people of a lineage was held, this net was always taken from the god house of one of the lineages and hung up close to the beach. It was a reminder to the people that the meeting was to be peaceful and that violence would be punished by the god under whose protection the net was placed. The tearing down of the net was a sign that conflict was so acute that it could be settled only by violence. The man who tore down the net had not only to take his part in the fighting but also had to face punishment by the god, as happened to Titoko in the fight at Waletoa.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

173 injured, but their god had made well the places where they were injured, hit by the
539 many men.
669 Tawaia, one of the eight, ran below the house. Lunananga heard from on top of the house, it was Tawaia's voice. Lunanga (*sic*) jumped from on top of the house, split Tawaia's head with his billet club, the head was cracked. Tawaia was a brother of Lunanga. This is the reason Lunanga hit Tawaia: Tawaia and the others had not told their plan to him and the other group of Ngake.

Te Laupapa, the god of Tawaia and the others, turned there, folded together the split head of Tawaia, it was all right again. Tawaia ran on chasing the men, when the splitting of Tawaia's head was over. The many men threw at each other, among themselves only. They did not turn to the group of eight, to strike with aim. Indeed, the blood was flowing red on top. Indeed, the group which had died was nearly lost in the blood from the people. Indeed also, the many men had become few in number, they were nearly all finished, there remained only a few. But of the group of eight, not one of their men was mortally injured.

When the fighting was over, they lived other days thereafter. The armpit of Titoko became festered, from his tearing of the net of their god, Te Laupapa. The other seven were not affected. Deaths were theirs in fights in later times.

The doings of this island, the ideas which mistakenly direct the takings (decisions) of the island, which are not correct, these bring misfortune. Thus the many men were finished off. But the group of eight had been right, had wanted to live according to the customs of the island from the origin of the island, the living in villages. Thus they had good luck; there was not mortally injured a single man of theirs. Finished is the story of the fight at Waletoa.

173 Other accounts of this incident say that the beach and sea ran red with
669 the blood of the killed and injured. Old insults and injuries, long forgotten
621 but now flaring up anew, added to the violence of the hostilities. Although
166 the women hauled the injured men from the fighting ground, by the end of the day Waletoa was a place of shambles.

As a result of the fighting, Tuliayanga yielded to the pleas of his advisers and decreed that thenceforth all the people were to live in their old villages and that the reserves were again to be under village control. No doubt by this time the food supplies were again normal, and it must have irked some men to remain separated from their own village homes and to see the reserves, controlled by the villages from time immemorial, thrown open to all comers. It was a common consciousness that the time for repressive or stringent measures, necessary in the famine succeeding the great death, was now past, that was crystalized by the exploits of Tuiva and Kupolu and by the dramatic conflict at Waletoa leading to the restitution of normal living and economic conditions.

173 Tuliayanga was now an old man, but one more incident is reported from his reign. This was the arrival of four big double canoes from the land of Yiva:

When the canoes were sighted off the point Te Auma, the chief and the people went to investigate. Tuliayanga had no heart to fight so he tore off a cluster of *ngaya* leaves and threw them in the air. As the leaves fell, he struck at them with his walking staff and so great was his power that not one leaf fell without being struck aside and dispersed. Then the chief said: "Let the canoes pass away as these leaves are dispersed.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

000 the village. They have been abandoned for many years, and houses now stand on many of them. The high chief's burial marae has been preserved as a modern cemetery (pl. 1).

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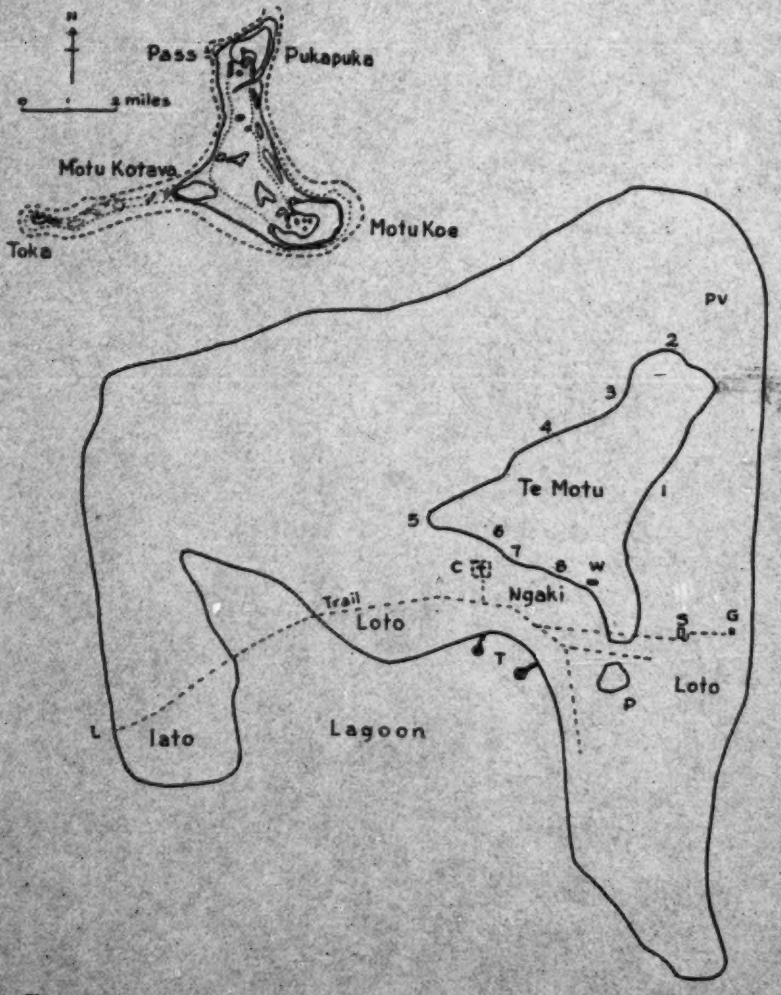

FIGURE 1.—Map of Pukapuka Islet showing village sections and land holdings: Te Motu, communal taro lands of Loto section; *G*, resident agent's house; *L*, landing place; *P*, puraka patch; *S*, school and meeting house; *T*, toilets over lagoon; *W*, watchhouse in taro patches; *C*, church; *Pv*, Loto plantation villages. Small plantations and land divisions: 1, Te Utu; 2, Walakakala; 3, Te Wela (Vela); 4, Te Puapua; 5, Te Auma; 6, Te Velo o te Kilikili; 7, Taikaina; 8, Te Pa.

In order to prevent theft or any unfair proportioning of the taro and coconut crops, a rigid tapu excludes everyone from entering a *motu* without permission from the village council. Loto erected a watchman's house on the embankment of the main part of the communal taro pit and walls of coral slabs (pl. 3) to insure the protection of its taro supply behind the village.

When it is time to gather food the entire population moves away from the village. During the harvesting period each section lives on its own *motu*, where it has a small settlement of houses. Harvesting that includes the cutting and drying of coconuts for copra requires a longer period of residence at the *motu* settlements than the ancient harvesting periods and it is necessary for the women and children to accompany the men and settle away from the village for several weeks. Formerly the women and children were forbidden to go into the *motu* and the men did all the harvesting as the need for food arose. Today while the main population is away a few old people and children remain in each village section to guard the houses and property left behind. None of the others are allowed to return to the village during the harvesting period. Our visit to Pukapuka during the harvesting period brought the people back to the village, for a ship is an unusual circumstance. Yet each night they returned to their own plantation quarters.

Motu Kotava Islet has one plantation village, Aonga, which consists of a cluster of small huts in the middle of its north shore. A path running southward from the village divides the island. The land at the eastern point of the islet is Puipui; the middle division is Oloavalu, and the western division, Kokoakanava. The western point extending out to the southern reef is Te Auma. Uluniu and Alitaiva are two pieces of land along the southern beach.

Motu Koe Islet has its plantation village, Te A or Te Aa, in the heart of the bay on the lagoon shore. The houses are in two groups. At one time there were settlements of the immigrant Eaki people located at each end of the islet. These people dug the large taro pits which are used by the present Pukapukans. Smaller pits have been dug by the present people also. This islet has several ancient, pre-Christian graves, where Pukapuka chiefs, killed in fights against the Motu Koe people, were buried.

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

Land Divisions

Pukapuka Islet is divided into several districts. Their names in order, from the eastern tip (Matautu) to the western tip (Matauea), are as follows:

1. Matautu
2. Niutaulele
3. Teliakinala
4. Waiua
5. Wonio
6. Te Ionga o te peu
7. Wangawanga
8. Kokoloa (eastern group of houses on beach)
9. Te A (western group of houses)
10. Walewu
11. Matapoko
12. Tealapalakula
13. Teaua

The land of the islet outside the village is divided into sections used by the community, kindreds, and individuals. The main portion of the plantation and garden land is Te Motu and belongs to Loto, the central section of the village. On the northeastern shore there is a settlement of huts to which the Loto people go while working in their land. The heart of Te Motu is a great communal taro pit in which every Loto man (*akatane*) and woman (*akawawine*) has an equal right. Around it are eight land divisions of smaller taro patches and coconut plantations (fig. 1). Between the road and the southern side of Te Motu are pieces of land on which there are houses or coconuts and a few taro patches. All but one of these pieces belong to individuals and are inherited by the children from their parents. The names of these lands are:

1. Utupoa
2. Teneku
3. Angialulu
4. Paepae
5. Kiki
6. Oaletoa
7. Umalolo
8. Amanaia
9. Utulei
10. Tangalepule
11. Taiotaupapa
12. Kaiue
13. Telimatini
14. Tekolo
15. Mataniua

It was not possible to go over all the land divisions of Pukapuka Islet or the two southern islets to examine the extent of the divisions and to see whether Iato and Ngaki had pieces of land owned by individuals. It is certain that the entire atoll is not owned communally by the village, although the ultimate control and use of the land rests with the chief council. On Pukapuka Islet individuals, or perhaps kindreds headed by one individual, have pieces of land whose products and ownership are not regulated by the village council. This may be true of the two other islets, which are divided into several pieces;

Chants

Types

533 The general word for a chant is mako; to chant is ta mako. Various types of chants are distinguished and sung on specific occasions. A kupu is a love chant, composed by a young man for his mistress during the period of courtship or by a husband for his wife after marriage; alternately, a kupu may be composed and sung by a woman for her lover. To compose a love chant is watu kupu, the primary meaning of which is to plait together the elements in mat making; the symbolism involved is that lovers are joined together in a chant as elements are united in plaiting. A tangi is a lament composed before death by an individual for himself, or else quickly composed by his relatives after his death, and sung over the corpse, along with other chants associated with the deceased. If a person dies an unnatural accidental death, then a short chant called yiva is composed for him as a sort of memorial, added to the specific tangi, to indicate the regrettable nature of his death. The pinga is a type of love chant which is composed in the Underworld by a dead lover, who returns in a dream to his living mate and teaches him the chant. Composing a pinga may be a way of getting round the situation where a lover has died without composing a love chant; the vanity of the mistress is humored by the fiction that the lover returns from the Underworld with his love chant composed. A fourth type of chant about individuals is the tangitangi which is a song of boasting sung by a person in praise of his own skills and abilities: a man sings of his skill as a fisherman or maker of hooks, a woman of her ability in talo cultivation or mat making.

533 Certain chants are composed and sung by groups. Short
526 chants composed to celebrate the triumph of a village in
578 wrestling contests are named tila, unu, tili, yoni, lapa, tipa,
621 yioyio, and vilo. They are sung by the village group after their wrestler has thrown an opponent from another village. Informants suggested that the symbolism of the name tila, which means also the mast of a canoe, is that the chanting group thinks of itself as a mast bearing a big spread of sail against a heavy wind; just as the mast steadfastly carries the sail, so does the village group remain steadfast against the weight and strength of the opponent's attack. Informants felt that the name unu was derived from the sacred stone representing the god on the religious enclosure; just as this stone abides forever, so does the strength of the group stand against the opposition. The unu insults and taunts the opponent, the tila

533 is more a glorification of the village powers, insuring the
526 defeated group only by implication. The yoni is a chant of
578 triumph over the strangling (yoni) or defeating of the opponent's
621 efforts. The tili is a song of insult cast (tili) in the direction of the defeated opponents. The lapa flashes (lapa) insults at the opponent's group. A tipa is so short that it is sung "at a turn (tipa)", to emphasize previous insults. A yioyio likens the strength of a village to a waterspout (yioyio); the village overcomes opposition just as a waterspout at sea overcomes a canoe. A vilo is a chant sung to accompany circular dance movements (vilo).

533 Chants sung at other sports contests are called lalau,
526 wakatapatapa, vaitili, moi, and tila yoka yakali. A lalau is a chant celebrating the success of a village in an intervillage fishing contest, or of a village member in an individual reef angling fishing contest. A lalau is sometimes also called a kupu tutuki, kupu here having the meaning of a chant, and tutuki, a struggle. The wakatapatapa and the vaitili are boasting songs which glorify fishing triumphs. The name moi is derived from the moi fish, which never leaves the shoal, but circles round and round in closely packed schools, and is applied to a chant sung to the cirling movements of a dance performed after triumphs in general sporting contests. The tila yoka yakali is the type of tila sung by the village winning coconut husking contests. Other tila still are boasting chants, sung on sports occasions to glorify exclusive possessions of one village. The final type of chant represented in the collection is the mako tili (or tilitili) koua sung to give rhythm in the game of juggling (tilitili) immature coconuts (koua).

533 The name wakatapatapa applies also to a type of chant in which the singer recites the genealogy of his paternal descent line in order magically to render his task easier. A man may call thus on the names of his ancestors to insure that a big fish he is hauling up will not escape from his hook. In sporting contests, the friends of a contestant may recite his genealogies as the man wrestles or throws a spear in order to ensure his success. Again, an expert may wakatapatapa while he is engaged in craft activities. Finally a man may recite genealogies at the marriage of his daughter merely to laud himself and his daughter by naming a long line of distinguished ancestors.

Composition

To compose a chant is also termed ta mako. Any man or

539 [These notes refer to text on preceeding page.]
533

1. The Tamanu cycle consists of two introductory love chants, three main love chants and three shorter chants (tila). These chants were all composed in premissionary times but by various individuals. Although there are few common threads of meaning running through them all, nevertheless informants consistently grouped them together as a related cycle of chants. This seems to be based on the fact that in each chant there is at least one figure of speech derived from the appearance or quality of the tamanu tree. The tamanu or wetau is a tall tree growing high above others in the atoll bush; its spreading branches are associated in the Pukapukan mind with richness both in plant and human growth. This introductory chant was composed by the Yato man, Vaka-awi (also known as Atamu) of Yalongo lineage, for the Ngake woman Ikawotu of Muliwutu lineage.

[621] 2. Ngake village is understood to control all the seas and islets to the east of Pukapuka.

3. A god in the Underworld controlling a magical coconut tree.

4. The kie and epaepa mats were finely plaited, made only by the most skilled women.

103 Te yikuanga i Yamanaia
113 Te yikuanga i Wangawai
Te yikuanga i Te Aonanga o Kui — three small yikuanga, on kawa belonging to po Yangalipule

Te yikuanga i Matanamua
Te yikuanga i tai o te pupu — two divisions near the present church and school, on kawa of po i Tua.

Te yikuanga i Te Au
Te yikuanga i Te Limutini
Te yikuanga i Walepia — three divisions between the school house and the causeway on the kawa of the Yato po.

Te yikuanga la ngunia
Te yikuanga le tai — the names for former divisions of the motu of Niua in the western extension of Yato.

103 The main divisions of the talo ui on Motu Ko which are owned
113 by the people of Nyuke:
te ui nyikake
te ui matautu
te ui a tupuke
te ui o te ulu wutu, which is in two named sections, te ui yuyu, and te ui vawai
te ui o te tua welo, named after the welo tree that grows nearby
te ui o te mamagatu
te ui yikutakala
te ui te yuku
te ui tawa
te ui i te ulu o kaiyua
te ui o te vai mutua
te ui tua yuka
te ui o kamuli
te ui o te ulu niu o vaia
te ui o te tokelua.

The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Niua which are communally owned by Lato:
Mulli wulo
Mulo pula
Kalatai iau
Kalki uv

These are also the names of the land divisions in Niua.

103 The divisions of the talo ui in the reserve of Uta which are
621 communally owned by Loto:
244 Lua utu (2 beds of this name)
Mawela
Kai lula
Te welo
Lua welenga loa (2 beds of this name)
Te puapua
Te ui i tua
Pawatu
Punalei
These are also the names of the land divisions in the motu of Uta.

103 The following are the twenty-three talo gardens (ui) on Wale
613 owned by the paternal and maternal lineages:
244 Yalo ui, belongs to the wakavae (constituent paternal lineage)
Alo of po Maliwulu
Akava ui, } belong to the wakavae, Wakamoe ki te loto
Wailepu ui, } of the po Matanga
Taumalanga ui, belongs to the po Yamaunga. Taumalanga was a child of Yamaunga po who fell into a swamp and was drowned. The po declared this swamp tapu, later built a talo bed on it, and made Taumalanga an atua tangata (see Religion)
Atula ui, one half of of this ui belongs to the keinanga Kava of the larger wua, Mango; the other half is controlled by a sublineage of Kava called Pikula
Atio ui, belongs to the keinanga Yeitae and the sublineage Pikula
Te leilua ui, belongs to keinanga Kiole
Te ui ngauta, divided into three sections.
1. Te lakau, belongs to keinanga Yelu
2. Palaka, belongs to wua Mango
3. Nanguta, belongs to wua Kati.
Wanua eke ui, has two unnamed sections
1. belongs to po i Tua of Loto
2. belongs to wua Mango
Te ui a Uta, belongs to po i Tua

524 177 first at the tuku in the ala. If he hits both tuku, he may try for his opponents' tamou and if he hits this also, then he wins this. If he misses the first time, then his opponent shoots with his tamou.

The toy bow and arrow is used as children's sport today. The bow is made with tua niu bound together with continuous thread of lauwala. The bow string is uka. The arrows, ti, are tua niu. The bow is wana. A heap of puapua seeds is put in the center of the ring. Children sit in a circle and fire arrows at the seeds. Each seed impaled by the arrow counts one point to the child who shot the arrow. No game was played during our visit, but was described thus by informants.

181 888 Miscellaneous.

For the man, it is important to marry and have children, that the paternal descent line may be continued. For himself and the next generation, a man likes to have a house, one or more canoes. He may sow sexual wild oats in abundance in his youth, and this applies also to the women. But in old age, the ideal is to live to a ripe old age, and then to retire from active work, to be surrounded by a crowd of children and grandchildren, and to spend one's days in active talk with one's contemporaries, directing the activities of the lopa group.

539 [See 3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 65--analyst.] As the men advance with the canoe cortege outside the reef, mako and wave the paddles, the following mako is the one that is sung:

E lapaki te woe alua ma no
Kateli ka kina yai yo yio
Ke te ta ko yio yio
Ke tangi te titi oyio yio
Ke tangi te lawa oyio yio
Koa lelei ka koa lelei ka
Taku pupune ia.....

621 591 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 221--analyst] In the case of matrilocal residence of the male, or even in the case of customary patrilocal residence, the man may wish to tau [affiliate] in the village of his wife. In the former case, residence takes care of itself, but in the latter case, he will continue to live patrilocally, but join his adopted village for play, copra making, food divisions, etc.

344 Today there is a tendency for the people to pull and eat the taio before the plant is fully mature and ready to eat, often

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obediance was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamapoi were gathered together and taken to a bath part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and there laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.